A grammar of Dhao: An endangered Austronesian language in Eastern Indonesia

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6

Clause Combining and Serial Verb Constructions

6.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses clause combining and serial verb constructions (SVCs). The discussion touches on the combination of more than one clause and the markers that are used to link them. In turn, these clauses are connected by conjunctions or by any other particular particle. Sometimes, it is the case that clauses simply are juxtaposed without any overt marking. The clauses include coordination and subordination whether they are asymmetric or symmetric. This chapter starts with the description of coordination in §6.2, followed by the description of subordination in §6.3, which involves relative clauses (§6.3.1), complement clauses (§6.3.2), and adverbial clauses (§6.3.3). Serial verb constructions (SVCs) are presented in §6.4. The discussion of SVCs presented in this section is purposive, as the sequence of the verbal elements in SVCs is comparable to the sequence of verbs in paratactic constructions of clause combining. In doing so, the distinction between paratactic constructions and SVCs is made clear.

6.2. Coordination

Coordination is a grammatical construction where two or more linguistic units of equal grammatical status are conjoined to form larger units. In the case of clauses, none of the combined units are dependent on each other, but rather independent units are coordinated with each other (Velupillai, 2012:307; Haspelmath, 2007:51). Dhao employs two strategies of coordination: firstly, it uses coordinate conjunctions, a coordination strategy that is called linked coordination in this section, and secondly, it applies zero strategy or juxtaposition.

6.2.1. Linked Coordination

With reference to the linking devices that conjoin linguistic units in Dhao, three types of coordination are distinguished in this section: (1) conjunctive coordination,

in which the conjunctive *dènge* 'with' and *aa* 'and' are employed; (2) disjunctive coordination, which uses the disjunctive *tengaa* 'but'; and (3) adversative coordination, which uses the disjunctive *do* 'or'.

6.2.1.1 Conjunctive coordination

In Dhao, the conjunctive coordination is expressed by using two conjunctives: *dènge*[1] 'with' and *aa* 'and'. The conjunctive *dènge* 'with' typically is used to link words and phrases, while the conjunctive *aa* 'with' is used to join clauses. The examples given in (1) and (2) show that *dènge* 'with' joins noun phrases, while *dènge* 'with' joins verb phrases in (3). As shown, the same verb *katèdhe* 'to dip' appears in the coordination. This happens when the verbs that profile an event are the same.

(1) *kalera* ***dènge*** *kanaca* *èèna*
k.o.basket with k.o.fish.trap DIST.SG

dènge *a'ju* *èci…*
with wood one
'*Kalera* and *kanacha* and a wood' [WY_Kalera_Kanaca.015]

(2) *…tao* *pa-be'a* [*ma-mea* ***dènge*** *karara*] *sèra*
make CAUS-good DUP-red with yellow DIST.PL
'…to make the red and yellow parts better' [SF_Tao_Hengu.257]

(3) *èdhi* [*katèdhe* *mea* ***dènge*** *katèdhe* *karara*]
1PL dip red with dip yellow
'We dip the red and yellow (parts)' [YL_Hengu.048]

Furthermore, the conjunctive *aa* 'and' is used to link two clauses. Typically these two clauses profile two different events. In case the events share the same actor, one is realized as the subject argument in the first clause. In case the events have different actors, each one is realized as a subject. Example (4) illustrates the combination of two clauses that profile two different events. The first clause profiles the event of entering, with the actor being *dhèu èèna* 'that person' at the location *j'ami* 'jungle'. The second clause profiles the event of burning. While the burning event has the undergoer *èmu* 'house', it has the same actor as the first clause, which is *dhèu èèna* 'that person'. In (5), the combined clauses have subjects of their own; not only do they have two different events, but they also have two different actors. In (6), two clauses describe the same entity, *dhari* 'rope', and each clause indicates a different segment of the entity.

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1 *dènge* 'with' is a grammaticalization of an accompaniment preposition (see §3.6.2.1).

(4) *dhèu èèna dara j'ami **aa** tunu eele èmu*
person DIST.SG inside jungle and to.burn PART house
'The man was in woods and burnt the house'
[JL_Musu_Bajo.387]

(5) *nèngu uru **aa** landak limuri*
3SG earlier and porcupine latest
'He (lion) went first, and then the porcupine followed'
[PM_Sobhu.112]

(6) *talora dhari ètu dedha mei*
middle rope LOC above table

***aa** suu dua-dua dhu kadhoe tèke*
and tip DUP-two REL to.hang to.keep
'The middle of the rope is on the table and both of its tips are hanging down' [Prep_Elicited.058]

6.2.1.2 Disjunctive coordination

The disjunctive *tengaa* 'but' can be shortened to *te*. This has a pragmatic constraint (see §2.3). The shortened form should be distinguished from the particle that marks subordination indicating reason (see §6.3). Since *tengaa/te* 'but' semantically indicates contrast, it always conjoins clauses, not phrases. As illustrated in (7)a, the disjunctive *tengaa* 'but' links two full clauses. The two contrasted events share the same actor, because of which it remains unprofiled in the second clause, as shown in (7)b. Another contrast is demonstrated in (8), in which the subjects of both clauses share the actor with the matrix clause. The actor is *rèngu* '3PL', leaving the subject position unprofiled. The short form *te* is illustrated in (9). As the two clauses have different actors, both must be profiled in the construction.

(7) a. *nèngu kako eele **tengaa** nèngu ngee-ngee…*
3SG to.walk PART but 3SG DUP-think
'He walked away but he was thinking…' [SB_Lolo.172]

b. *nèngu kako eele **tengaa** Ø ngee-ngee…*
3SG walk PART but DUP-think
'He walked away but he was thinking…'

(8) *aku rèngu, Ø dèi **tengaa** Ø doi aad'o*
according.to 3PL to.like but money be.absent
'They said that they are interested, but they have no money'
[PM_Syukur.012]

(9) *èu* *m-èdhi* *mèka* *we,* ***te*** *ja'a* *k-èdhi*
2SG 2SG-to.see not.yet EXCL but 1SG 1SG-to.see
'You have not seen (him) yet, but I have seen' [PM_Sobhu.023]

6.2.1.3 Alternative coordination

The alternative *do* 'or' signals a choice, either between words, phrases, or clauses. This adversative is also used in polar interrogative constructions asking about a choice (see §3.5.5.3). In coordination, the adversative occurs in-between the events or entities to be contrasted. Illustrations are presented below. Example (10) illustrates an alternative between two words, while examples (11) and (12) illustrate an alternative between prepositional and verb phrases respectively. Example (13) involves an alternative to the entire clause, rather than to particular phrases. It is indicated by the negative verb *aad'o* 'be absent', which negates the entire clause.

(10) *èu* [*makae* ***do*** *madha'u*]
2SG be.ashamed or be.afraid
'You are ashamed or afraid' [JL_Baki_Tuka.025]

(11) *la-si* [*dènge* *dhèu* ***do*** *dènge* *boe* *dhèu*]
3PL-to.go with person or with not person
'They went (there) with or without other people'
[JL_Baki_Tuka.135]

(12) [*hake* *èci* ***do*** *hake* *dua*] *na*
to.strike one or to.strike two COMP

ka *lii* *g'aro-g'aro*
PART voice k.o.sound
'at 1 p.m or 2 p.m there was sound' [LL_Pagar_Laut.129]

(13) *abhu* *rulai* *i'a* *mola* ***do*** *aad'o*?
to.get tail fish straight or be.absent
'is there fish which has straight tail or not' [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.153]

6.2.2. Juxtaposition

Juxtaposition refers to coordination without an overt linker. This type of construction occurs either on word, phrase, or clause level. Since there is no overt marking, intonation is the only means to identify conjoined units (Haspelmath, 2007: 7). An illustration is given in (14), in which three equal coordinated clauses are involved, as is indicated within brackets with subscript number. The first clause is *kore doi* 'I earn money' followed by the next clause *laku hèli èi na'i mea mèdi* 'I go to buy red and black dye'. In this second clause, there also is a juxtaposition of words: *mea* and *mèdi*, which are comparable to *dènge* 'with'. The third clause is *mai*

nasu hèngu ne'e, which may have two translations: '(I) come to boil these yarns' or '(I) come and boil these yarns'. Another example of juxtaposition is demonstrated in (15), which is comparable to *aa* 'and'. A juxtaposition indicating disjunctive coordination is given in (16), in which the two verbs *madhe* 'to die' and *kèdhi* 'to get up' are in contrast.

(14) [*k-ore* *doi*]$_1$ [*la-ku* *hèli* *èi* *na'i* *mea*
1SG-to.take money to.go-1SG to.buy water tobacco red

mèdi]$_2$ [*mai* *nasu* *hèngu* *ne'e*]$_3$ *te* *ja'a*
black to.come to.boil yarn PROX.SG because 1SG

doi *aad'o* *nga*
money be.absent PART
'I can earn money and I go to buy red and black dye and then I come to boil these yarns, because I don't have money' [SN_Manenu.055]

(15) *ma-muri* *èdhi* *ètu* *rai* *haha* *ne'e* *nuka*
DUP-to.live 1PL.in LOC land below PROX.SG namely

sèmi *hela* *bunga* *lod'o* *pana* *na* *kamale*
be.like bloom flower day hot 3SG wilted

Ø *ngèlu* *tiu* *na* *kabhui*
wind blow 3SG fall
'Our life on earth is like the bloom of flower: when sunny it is dry and when the wind blows it falls' [YK_HelaBunga.107-114]

(16) *Lamatua* *dhu* *madhe* *Ø* *kèdi* *hari*
Lord REL be.dead to.get.up again
'The Lord who has died **but** risen again' [YK_HelaBunga.125-126]

6.3. Subordination

Subordination refers to the grammatical construction that involves two or more clauses in which one clause functions as a constituent that is embedded within another clause. The main clause is called the matrix clause, while the embedded clause is called the subordinated clause (Velupillai, 2012: 315). In Dhao, subordination distinguishes between relative clauses, complement clauses, and adverbial clauses (see Table 3.20 in §3.6.3.2).

6.3.1. Relative Clauses

A relative clause (RC) is a subordinate clause that delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of the NP in the event described by the RC

(Andrews, 2007: 206). In Dhao, relative clauses typically are marked by *dhu*, which is postnominal: the relative clause follows the NP head. Walker (1982:45) assumes that *dhu* evolved from the noun *dhèu* 'person', which once had a dual function. It was used as both 'person, human being' and as a relative clause marker. In certain cases, Dhao makes use of the particle *ho* to mark relative clauses as well. The main function of relativization is either to limit the reference or to provide additional information about the NP it modifies in order to become more specific. In this section, the description of relative clauses starts with the relativization of arguments, followed by the relativization of non-arguments, headless relative clauses, and finally, a different type of relativization that is marked by the particle *ho*.

6.3.1.1. Relativization of arguments

In this subsection, the discussion of relativization concerns elements that syntactically function as arguments of a clause: subject, direct object, and indirect object. The structure of subject relativization is given in (17). The subject of the matrix clause (symbolized as $\mathbf{S}_{MAT}$) always is an NP followed by the relativizer *dhu* and a relative predicate ($\mathbf{PRED}_{REL}$). Demonstratives can be present optionally, in this case modifying their NP heads. Furthermore, the matrix or complement clause's predicate ($\mathbf{PRED}_{MAT}$) appears after the relative clause. Such a predicate may be either verbal or non-verbal. In this position, an object is optional, too (see §5.2).

(17)

$\mathbf{S}_{MAT}$	*dhu*	$\mathbf{PRED}_{REL}$	(**OBJ**)	(DEM)	$\mathbf{PRED}_{MAT}$ /**COMPL**	(**OBJ**)

As shown in (18), the relative clause *dhu mai* 'who is coming' makes the NP *mone heka* 'old man' more specific. The demonstrative *èèna* 'DIST.SG' modifies the head NP, rather than the relative clause. The NP *to'o ja'a* 'my uncle' is a nominal predicate to the NP *mone heka èèna* 'the old man'. In relative clause constructions, determiners modifying NPs follow the relative clause instead of the NP head. Likewise, the example given in (19) shows that the relative clause following the NP *sasue* 'love' specifies the NP. The prepositional phrase *ngèti Ama Lamatua* 'from God' functions as a prepositional predicate for the head *sasue* 'love'. Example (20) demonstrates a relative clause with a bivalent verb as the relative predicate. These three examples obviously show that the relative clause is embedded in the main clause.

(18) [*mone heka* [***dhu*** *mai*] *èèna*] *to'o ja'a*
male old REL to.come DIST.SG uncle 1SG
'That old man who is coming is my uncle'

(19) [*sa-sue* [***dhu*** *kapai*]] *ngèti* *Ama* *Lamatua*
DUP-to.love REL big from father God
'The love which is great is from God [UA_Sambut_Jenasah.050]

(20) [*dhèu* [***dhu*** *kèi* *èi*] *èèna*] (*nèngu*) *peka*
person REL to.dig well DIST.SG 3SG to.say
'The person who dig the well says,' [GD_Kei_Ei.091]

The example illustrated in (21) features a non-verbal relative clause.

(21) *dhèu* ***dhu*** *dhèu* *Dhao*
person REL person Dhao
'The people who are Dhaonese' [tao_dhepi.202]

The relative clause can be followed by a complement clause, as is illustrated in (22) and (23). In these cases, relative clauses cover both the relative predicate as well as the complement clause by which the NP is specified. Another example is given in (24), where the NP *lii Dhao* 'Dhao language' already is specific. The relative clause *dhu tare'a-re'a* 'which is good' provides supplementary information to disambiguate the context of the discourse.

(22) *dhèu* ***dhu*** *madenge* *na* *la-si* *boe*
person REL repugnant COMPL to.go-3PL not
'The people who were repugnant did not approach'
[Ani_Hahi.068]

(23) *Piga.Sina* ***dhu*** ***n-****e'a* *le* *na*
Piga.Sina REL 3SG-to.know PERF COMPL

dhèu *èmu* *na* *madhe*
person house 3SG to.die
'Piga Sina is the one who already knew that her husband died'
[BS_Tuka_Suki.519]

(24) *lii* *Dhao* ***dhu*** *tare'a-re'a*
voice Dhao REL right-DUP
'Dhao language which is good' [YK_HelaBunga.010]

As explained earlier (see §3.5), interrogative words occur *in situ*. Head NPs that function as arguments can be replaced by interrogative words in relative clause constructions. The relative clause modifies the interrogative word in subject position.

(25) [*cee* [***dhu*** *tule dhua*]] *tule n-are hèi*
who REL push palmwine push 3SG-take also
'who can push the palm tree until it falls down' [JL_Baki_Tuka.098]

There are two types of constructions in which relativization involves a direct object. The first type requires subjects, just like declarative clauses. The second type does not require subjects. In short, the matrix subject is the logical object of relative clauses. The rule of direct object relativization is given in (26) below.

(26)

$\mathbf{S}_{MAT}$	*dhu*	($\mathbf{S}_{REL}$)	$\mathbf{PRED}_{REL}$	(DEM)	….

As shown in (27)a, the NP *lii soda* 'song' is the logical object of the relative predicate *tao* 'to make'. The subject *ja'a* '1SG' remains *in situ*. The positive declarative clause counterpart of the relative clause construction is given in 27(b). The same direct object relativization is shown in (28). The restricting element introduced by *dhu* modifies the noun *loa* 'sheet'. The noun *loa* 'sheet' itself is the logical object of the verb *nuni* 'to pull' within the relative clause.

(27) a. *lii soda* [***dhu*** *ja'a tao*__] *ne'e*
voice to.sing REL 1SG to.make PROX.SG
'The song which I composed' [YK_HelaBunga.018]

b. *ja'a tao lii soda ne'e*
1SG to.make voice sing PROX.SG
'I composed this song' [YK_HelaBunga.018]

(28) *loa* [***dhu*** *èdhi nuni*__] *deo èèna*
sheet REL 1PL to.pull recent DIST.SG
'The string that we pull just now' [EL_Dhari.107]

The construction in (29) shows that the NP *busa ci'u* 'a dog' is the object of the matrix clause. The NP is then relativized by *dhu* followed by the derived verb *pakosa* 'to rub.

(29) *nèbhu boe dhèu sèra pa-puru busa ci'u mai*
long not person DIST.PL DUP-to.descent dog one come

dhu ***pa-kosa*** *èi* *ngaa* *na*
REL CAUS-to.rub water what PART
'not long, those people put a dog down (from a boat) which is rubbed with a sort of water' [RL_Rade_Lingu.027-028]

Either object can be relativized in double object constructions. However, indirect object relativization is constrained to nouns only. This is exemplified in (30)a. In (30)b, the relativization of an 1SG indirect object is ungrammatical. The relativization only is acceptable when the relativized NP is a third person element, like in (30)c.

(30) a. *dhèu* ***dhu*** *Rini* *hia__* [*doi* *ca- nguru* *riho*]$_{NP}$
person REL name to.give money a-ten thousand
'The person who Rini gives ten thousand to'

b. **ja'a* ***dhu*** *Rini* *hia__* [*doi* *ca- nguru* *riho*]$_{NP}$
1SG REL name to.give money a-ten thousand

c. [*doi* *ca- nguru* *riho*]$_{NP}$ ***dhu*** *Rini* *hia* *ja'a* __
money a-ten thousand REL name to.give 1SG
'ten thousand that Rini gives to me'

6.3.1.2. Relativization of non-arguments

In this subsection, the discussion concerns the relativization of NPs that are not arguments, that is: prepositional complements that semantically function as locations, instruments, commitatives, and possessors. The prepositional phrase (PP) typically consists of a preposition followed by a relevant noun. Such nouns can be generic or specific nouns. The interrogative word *mia* 'where' optionally appears following the PP. In turn, a relative clause marked by *dhu* follows, too. When a generic noun exists, the interrogative word *mia* 'where' can be optional, but not vice versa. A demonstrative may appear after the relative clause, which modifies the relativized noun or the NP if *mia* 'where' is absent. The structure of non-argument relativization is given in (31).

(31)

Prep. N (*mia*)	*dhu*	S_{REL} $PRED_{REL}$	(OBJ)	(DEM)

Examples (32) and (33) show that instrument and location relativization optionally allow for an additional *mia* 'where', indicated by brackets in the examples. Example (34) shows that *mia* 'where' is absent in relativizations of definite locations.

(32) *dènge j'ara* (*mia*) [***dhu*** *rèngu bisa*]
with way where REL 3PL can(IND)
'Which way they can do that' [CY_Kasasi.090]

(33) *ji'i mai la ètu era* (*mia*) [***dhu***
1PL.in come PART LOC place where REL

lii holonori Ama Lamatua lole dan peka]
voice advice father God to.tell and(IND) say
'We come to a place where the Word of God is spoken'
[CY_Pray.023-024]

(34) *ji'i mai èle asa era* [***dhu*** *ra lole peka*
1PL.ex to.come finish from place REL 3PL to.tell to.say

lii holonori Ama Lamatua] *èèna*
voice advice Father God DIST.SG
'We come from the place where they preach the Word of God'

In relativizing a possessor, the possessum directly follows the relativizer *dhu*, which is then followed by predicates. The possessor can appear optionally in the form of pronouns within the relative clause, which should be coreferential with the relativized possessor NP. In (35), the NP *ana aj'u èci* 'a plant' is the relativized possessor. The possessum *rèu* 'leaf' follows the relativizer *dhu*. The pronoun *nèngu* '3SG' is coreferential with the possessor NP, which is optional in this construction. The absence of a possessor pronoun is illustrated in example (36). The relativized possessor NP is *paji* 'flag' and the possessum is the noun *kabua* 'price' following the relativizer *dhu*.

(35) *ana aj'u èci* [***dhu*** *rèu* (*nèngu*) *bhèla aae*]
child wood one REL leaf 3SG wide big
'a plant whose leaf is too wide' [CY_Lari_Na'i.192-194]

(36) *paji* [***dhu*** *kabua*] *tèlu nguru juta na…*
flag REL price three tens million PART
'the flag whose price is thirty million (rupiahs)' [SK_Polisi.974]

6.3.1.3. Headless relative clauses

As demonstrated in the examples (37) through (39), the relativizer *dhu* follows verbal predicates, which indicates that *dhu* functions as an argument of the verb.

Furthermore, the elements following *dhu* are predicative as well. The nominal elements replaced by *dhu* are put in-between brackets in the line of free translation.

(37) *deo* *èèna* *ja'a* *peka* ***dhu*** *bab'a* *deo* *Sèi*
recent DIST.SG 1SG to.say REL short recent REM.PL
'just now I told the one (story) which is short'
[SK_AnaBheni_Dhe'uPidhu.160]

(38) *na* *hia* ***dhu*** *pana* *aae* *pana* *aae* *èèna*
3SG to.give REL hot big hot big DIST.SG
'it shows the one (strength) which is very hot [RMb_LodoNgelu.099-100]

(39) *abhu* ***dhu*** *dua* *nguru* *meter* *hèi*
to.get REL two tens meter also
'there also exist those (woven mats) which are twenty meters'
[tao_dhepi.107]

6.3.1.4. Relativization with the particle *ho*

In Dhao, another strategy of relativization is the employment of the particle *ho*[2]. In this thesis this particular type of construction is analysed as a relative clause, due to its function as a restricting element of the head NP. Like *dhu*, the particle *ho* as a relativizer is used to relativize both arguments and non-arguments alike. Unlike *dhu*, however, *ho* is not a pronoun. The relativization of a subject argument is shown in (40). The relativized NP is *ina suku* 'clan chief's wife'. Like in other relativizations, interrogative words can also be used as relative arguments, as is shown in (41) and (42). The occurrence of the pronoun *nèngu* '3SG' preceded by the particle *ka* indicates a focus, which can be demoted without violating the relativization. Replacing *ho* with *dhu* is acceptable, as is shown in (42)b, but native speakers are more comfortable with *ho*.

(40) *ina* *suku* [***ho*** *ana* *bhèni* *deo* *na*]
mother clan(IND) PART child female just.now PART

paroa *ana* *bhèni* *ne'e*
call child female PROX.SG
'the clan chief's wife who is the young lady just now called the girl'
[KM_Maso_Minta001.098-100]

(41) *cee* *ka* *nèngu* **[*ho*** *dara* *pèda* *boe*]
who PART 3SG PART inside be.sick not
'Who is he whose heart is not broken' [UA_Sambut_Jenasah.004]

[2] cf. §6.3.2.4 on purpose clauses

(42) a. *cee* *ka* *nèngu* [***ho*** *pa-suti* *boe*]
who PART 3SG PART CAUS-drip not

èi *madha*
water eye
'Who will not drop tears' [UA_Sambut_Jenasah.005]

b. ?*cee* *ka* *nèngu* ***dhu*** *pasuti* *boe*
who PART 3SG REL CAUS-drip not

èi *madha*
water eye
'Who will not drop tears'

The illustration in (43) is an example of object relativization. In such a construction, the relativized NP *sig'i aae* 'big sarong' is the logical object of the verbal predicate *pake* 'to wear' of the relative clause. In (43), the relative clause with *ho* provides a restricting expression for the relativized NP: it indicates not any big sarong, but only the kind of sarong that is usually worn by Rotenese people when they go to marriage proposal ceremonies. The particle *ho* that occurs preceding the second clause in the relative clause indicates a purpose.

(43) *sig'i* *aae* [***ho*** *biasa* *dhèu* *Rote* *pake__*
sarong big PART usual(IND) person Rote use(IND)

ho *la-si* *karèi* *dhèu*]
PART to.go-3PL ask person
'A big sarong which Roteneses usually wear for marriage proposal'
[tao_dhepi.177-180]

The relativization of peripheral elements can also be acceptable with the particle *ho*. In (44), the relativized PP *dara èi* 'in the water' indicates a location. Such a location is restricted by the relative clause introduced by *ho*: the indicated location is the location that is full of crocodiles, not any other location.

(44) *dara* *èi* [***ho*** *bakihoe* *hua* *pènu*]
inside water PART crocodile all full
'In the water which is full of crocodiles'
[FF_Bheni_ae_kabo. 1051]

6.3.2. Complement Clauses

A complement clause is the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate (Noonan, 2007:52; cf. Dixon, 2010b:370; Payne, 1997:313). In Dhao, complement clauses generally have the following specific features:

a) The structure of both complement clauses as well as matrix clauses follows the basic clause structure of Dhao.
b) Complement clauses function as the object of a matrix predicate.
c) Complement clauses may be marked by the particle *na* depending on the verbs of the matrix clause.

Based on those general characteristics, Dhao complement clauses can be divided into three types according to their grammatical behavior: (1) *na*-complements, (2) paratactic complements, and (3) clause union complements.

6.3.2.1. *na*-complements

In *na*-complements, the complement clauses are marked by the particle *na* as the complementizer[3]. The schema is illustrated in (45) below.

(45)

Matrix clause		(*na*)	Complement clause		
Subject	*predicate*		*Subject*	*predicate*	(*object*)
NP	V		NP	V/N/Adj	(NP)

The *na*-complements in Dhao have the following specific characteristics:

a) The structure of complement clauses has the same form as the structure of main clauses; complement clauses have as subject and a predicate as well. Complement clauses can have their own object when it is required by its predicate. While a matrix clause allows only verbs as predicates, complement clauses may allow other word classes as predicates.
b) Some verbs functioning as matrix clause predicates require the particle *na*, while for some other verbs, *na* is optional.
c) With *na* being an enclitic, *na* sticks to the matrix predicate but syntactically is part of the complement clause. This is proven by a tight intonation contour with the matrix clause. A pause between matrix clause and *na* is judged unnatural.

This section begins with complement clauses that obligatorily take the complementizer *na*. The verbs that require *na* include verbs of thinking, such as *ngee* 'to think' and *siri* 'to predict'.

[3] The particle *na* employed here must be distinguished from the clitic *na* '3SG' (see §3.2.2.1) and the reduced form of the demonstrative *èèna* 'DIST.SG' (see §3.2.2.2).

As seen in (46), the predicate is the verb of thinking *ngee* 'to think'. The personal pronoun *ja'a* '1SG' functions as the subject, while the NP *mamuri èdhi* 'our life' functions as the object. The object of *ngee* 'to think' can be replaced by a predication, which can consist of a predicate and its subject in the least. For this purpose, the main clause is referred to as a matrix clause, while the predication functioning as object is referred to as a complement clause. Example (47) shows that the object of the verb *ngee* 'to think' is a sentence, with the subject being the NP *èdhi aa'i-aa'i ti* 'we all' and the predicate being the verb *laladhe* 'to see'. This is a complement clause that is obligatorily marked by the preceding particle *na*. Another example of complement clauses that obligatorily require the particle *na* is demonstrated in (48), showing the use of another mental verb, *siri* 'to guess'.

(46) *ja'a* *ngee* [*ma-muri* *èdhi*]
1SG to.think DUP-to.live 1PL
'I think of our life' [SN_Manenu.001]

(47) *ja'a* *ngee* [*na* *èdhi* *aa'i-aa'i* *ti* *la-ladhe*…]
1SG to.think COMPL 1PL.in DUP-all 1PL.in DUP-to.see
'I think that we all can see…' [Ada_20140427.044]

(48) *rèngu* *siri* [*na* *dhèu* *aae* *ka* *dhèu* *èci*
3PL to.guess COMPL person great PART person one

ngara *na* *baki* *Hètu.Helo*]
name 3SG grandfather Hètu.Helo
'They thought the king was a person named Hètu Helo'
[JL_Musu_Bajo.255]

The particle *na* is optional when the predicate of the matrix clauses includes the sensory verbs *ladhe* 'to see', *tadèngi* 'to hear', and when it includes verbs of speaking such as *peka* 'to say', *ale* 'to mention', *dhaa* 'to answer', *karèi* 'to ask', *paroa* 'to call out', and *kasere* 'to predict'. However, formally-speaking, the use of *na* still is preferred. As is illustrated in (49), the example in (49)a takes the particle *na*, while the example in (49)b does not. The object of the matrix verb may be expressed optionally , as in (50)a, where *miu* '2PL' appears following the verb *laladhe* 'to see'. The same also holds true with verbs of speaking, such as *peka* 'to say'. As demonstrated in (51) and (52), complement clauses can optionally take the particle *na* without violating the construction.

(49) a. *rèngu* *ladhe* [*na* *ja'a* *dhèu* *hiu* *to*]
3PL to.see COMPL 1SG person new tag
'They see that I am a newcomer' [Ada_20140427.031]

b. *rèngu* *ladhe* [*ja'a* *dhèu* *hiu* *to*]
3PL to.see 1SG person new tag
'They see that I am a newcomer'

(50) a. *ja'a* *la-ladhe*[4] (*miu*) [*na* *miu* *bisa* *heka*]
1SG DUP-to.see 2PL COMPL 2PL can no.more
'I see that you cannot (do that) anymore' [Pinangan_20140430.033]

b. *ja'a* *la-ladhe* [*miu* *bisa* *heka*]
1SG DUP-to.see 2PL can no.more
'I see that you cannot (do that) anymore'

(51) *rèngu* *peka* ***na*** *ja'a* *sabe* *sale*
3PL to.say COMPL 1SG to.work wrong
'They would say I did it wrong' [YK_HelaBunga.015

(52) *ja'a* *peka* *èu* *mo'o* *na* *mu* *sabha*
1SG to.say 2SG shall PART 2SG to.work
'I told you that if you want, you do (it)'
[FF_Koli_Bubhu.077-078]

The verb of speaking *peka* 'to say' differs from the evidential adverb *aku*, which is used to express direct quotation (see §3.3.2). Here, two examples are presented for clarification. In (53), the direct quotation shows a confirmation question, while example (54) shows an imperative sentence. Both constructions take the particle *na*. However, these two constructions do not indicate complementation, as the subordinate clauses are not the objects of the matrix predicate. The direct quotation marked with *aku* does, in fact, co-occur with verbs of speaking, such as *peka* 'to say', *karèi* 'to ask' and *dhaa* 'to answer' in order to assert direct quotation, as is illustrated by the verb *peka* 'to say' in (55).

(53) *aku* *nèngu* [*na* *èu* *tadhe*
according.to 3SG COMPL 2SG to.recognize

ne'e *do* *aad'o*]
PROX.SG or be.absent
'According to her, 'do you recognize this one or not?''
[SK_Dhe'u_E'ta _Dua.132]

[4] For the details of reduplication, see §4.4

(54) *aku* *nèngu* [*na* *la-mu* *hia* *na* *mai*]
according.to 3SG COMPL to.go-2SG for 3SG come
'She said, "go and order him to come"' [SB_Lolo.220]

(55) *ja'a* *peka* *hari* (*aku* *ja'a*) [*na* *pa-kure*]
1SG to.say again according.to 1SG COMPL CAUS-lack
'I prayed in order the rain decreased' [PD_Klalela_Holo_Manu.072]
(Lit: I said again, according to me, "decrease")

Mental and sensory verbs are presented in (56) and (57), wherein the particle *na* is optional in both constructions.

(56) *nèngu* *kasere* [(*na*) *hèru* *èèna*
3SG to.estimate COMPL moon DIST.SG

hèru *Holomanu*]
moon Holomanu
'Then she thought when there was holomanu traditional ceremony (that month)' [JL_Baki_Tuka.053]

(57) *ji'i* *tadèngi* [(*na*) *ji'i* *j'èra*]
1PL.in to.hear COMPL 1PL.in difficult
'When we hear that we are sad' [UA_Sambut_Jenasah.035]

6.3.2.2. Paratactic complements

Paratactic complement clauses directly follow the matrix predicate. The verbs involved in this type of complements are the verbs of knowing *–e'a* 'to know', *sanède* 'to remember' and *sanunu* 'to plan'. Paratactic complement clauses follow the basic clause structure. Example (58) shows that the matrix verb is *sanède* 'to remember', while the clause between brackets functions as the object of the matrix verb. Another example is demonstrated in (59), with the matrix verb root *–e'a* 'to know'.

(58) *ja'a* *sanède* [*ja'a* *pea* *dènge* *bhèni* *heka* *èci*]
1SG to.remember 1SG to.stay with female old one
'I remember that I ever stayed with an old woman' [CY_Lari_Na'i.002]

(59) *ji'i* ***ng-e'a*** *Ama* *Lamatua* *tadèngi*
1PL.in 1PL-ex.to.know father Lord hear

lii *manèngi* *ji'i*
voice to.ask 1PL.in
'We know, Lord, You answer our prayer' [UA_Sambut_Jenasah.068]

The paratactic complement also includes verbs of modality, such as *–o'o* 'to want'. As presented in (60), both the matrix verb *–o'o* 'to want' and the complement verb *la-* 'to go' are inflected the same, which is cross-referenced with the matrix subject. The predication *la'e kahèi* 'she goes as well' functions as the object of the matrix predicate *no'o boe* 'she did not want'. The inflection of the verbs obviously indicates that the subjects of both clauses share the same referent. In (61), the complement verb *hue* 'to carry' has its own object, which is *èu* '2SG'. As such, an uninflected verb is understood to have the same actor as the matrix clause.

(60) *nèngu* *n-o'o* *boe* [*la-'e* *kahèi*]
3SG 3SG-to want not to.go-3SG also
'she did not want to go as well'
[Elicited from RL_Rade_Lingu.013]

(61) *ja'a* *k-o'o* [*hue* *èu*]
1SG 1SG-to.want to.carry 2SG
'I want to bring you' [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.495]

6.3.2.3. Clause union complements

Clause union complements refer to grammatical situations wherein the matrix and the complement predicates share an argument (Noonan, 2007:83). Example (62) illustrates that the matrix predicate is the verb *pua* 'to order' and that the predicate of the complement predicate is the inflected verb *laku* 'I go'. These two predicates share one argument, *ja'a* '1SG', which functions as the object of the matrix predicate and as the subject of the complement clause at the same time. Another example is demonstrated in (63), where the matrix predicate employs the causative verb *hia* 'to give' in order to indicate a command; the complement predicate *mai karèi* 'come to ask' shares the argument *ji'i* '1PL.ex'.

(62) *ama* *ku* *pua* ***ja'a*** *la-ku* *dara* *dhasi*
father 1SG order 1SG to.go-1SG inside sea
'My father asked me to go to sea' [TF_E'yu_Maraho.141]

(63) *papa* *mu* *hia* ***ji'i*** *mai* *karèi* *èu*
father(Mal) 2SG to.give 1PL.ex to.come question 2SG
'Your father ordered us to come and ask you' [FF_Koli_Bubhu.753]

6.3.3. Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses are clauses that function as modifiers of a proposition (Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang, 2007: 237). Dhao employs several grammatical morphemes to mark adverbial clauses. Some morphemes have lexical meaning, while other morphemes have not and therefore must be interpreted through their context. In

Dhao, adverbial clauses can either precede or follow the matrix clause. They encode time, location, reason, condition, purpose, temporal sequence, or concession.

6.3.2.1. Time clauses

In Dhao, adverbial time clauses can be expressed through four strategies: using: *karai* 'since', *ropa* 'at the time', *èle* 'finish', and *lodo* 'time/day'. *Karai* 'since' and *ropa* 'at the time' can only work as subordinators.

(64)	*karai*	since
	ropa/rapa	when/at the time
	èle ka / èle èèna ka	then, after that
	lodo	when/at the time

***karai* 'since'**

The morpheme *karai* 'since' is attested as a subordinate conjunction that indicates time. Sometimes it is pronounced as *karèi* /karəi/, which should be distinguished from the verb *karèi* 'to ask, question', which has the same phonological form, or is pronounced as *karii* /kari:/. The time clause subordinator, *karai* 'since' indicates the moment an event is happening. The phrase indicating time introduced by *karai* 'since' mostly occurs following the main clause. As seen in (65), the time NP appears following the conjunction *karai* 'since'.

(65)	*ji'i*	*ka*	*ne'e*	*madhe*	*kabake*
	1PL.ex	PART	PROX.SG	to.die	belly

	karai	*madae*	*Deo*	*ka…*
	[since	morning	recent]	PART

'We here have not eaten yet since the beginning of this day'
[FF_Koha_Lubhu.036]

***ropa* and *lodo* 'when'**

The conjunction *ropa* 'when'[5] also is parallel to the time noun *lodo* 'day, time' when used to link clauses indicating a sequence of events that occurred at the same time. As the clause denotes a sequence of events, the second clause may be preceded by the sequence conjunction *hèia* 'then', as is shown in example (66). While *ropa* 'when' preferably occurs in clause initial position, *lodo* 'day' can also follow the clausal subject, as demonstrated by the example (68). The use of *lodo* 'day' as conjunction is different from its function as a time noun, as shown in the example (69).

[5] Mostly pronounced as *rapa* /rapa/ nowadays.

(66) ***ropa*** *n-a'e* ***hèia*** *nèngu* *j'èli* *ca* *tanu'i*
when 3SG-to.eat then 3SG step a staircase

ai *riu* *ne'e*
foot left PROX.SG
'When it (fire) was burning, he stepped by his left leg'
[JL_Musu_Bajo.336]

(67) ***ropa*** *ènyu* *la-'e* *dai* *mèka* *ca* *pèga*
when tortoise to.go-3SG to.reach not.yet a step

dua *pèga* [*nèngu* *parèu* *nyiu* *mai*]
two step 3SG to.drop coconut to.come
'When the tortoise moved one or two steps, he threw coconut down'
[TF_E'yu_Maraho.089-090]

(68) *rèngu* ***lod'o*** *la-si* *na* *ka*
3PL day to.go-3PL PART PART

dhèu *èmu* *èèna* *n-ara* *iisi*
person house 3SG 3SG-to.take body
'When they went, his wife gave birth' [SK_Polisi.044]

(69) *dai* ***lod'o*** *mai* *ka*
to.reach day to.come PART
'When the time came, (they) came' [JL_Musu_Bajo.053]

***èle èèna* (*ka*) 'then, after that'**

The constructions with *èle èèna* (*ka*) 'then, after that' should be distinguished from constructions in which the verb *èle* 'to finish' is used as perfective marker followed by particle *ka* to indicate a sequence of events. Followed by the demonstrative *èèna* 'DIST.SG', the expression *èle èèna* 'after that' refers to an event in the previous discourse. As such, the clause introduced by *èle èèna* 'after that' can grammatically stand independently. As illustrated in (70), the clause begins with the expression *èle èèna* 'after that' which refers to a clause that is implied in the previous discourse. In this case, *èle èèna* 'after that' is considered as a sentence conjunction rather than a clause conjunction (see §3.6.3). As is made explicit in (71), the clause in (i) is the one that *èle èèna* 'DIST.SG' refers to in (ii). As is shown, the actor in the clause in (ii) is unprofiled. Therefore, no NP or pronouns precede the verb *bor* 'to drill'. The particle *na* that occurs after *èle èèna* 'DIST.SG' is used as an extra element to avoid phonological hiatus between the conjunction and the predication. Example (72) shows that *èle* 'finish' is not used as a conjunction but rather as a perfective marker to signal the completeness of the first event. The second event is marked with the

particle *ka*. This clause is similar to a sequential clause (see §6.3.2.7 below). Like other clause chains, this type of clause allows the actor to be unprofiled in the second clause.

(70) ***èle*** ***èèna*** *èdhi* *usu* *mi* *èi*
finish DIST.SG 1PL.ex bucket toward water
'After that, we use it to dipper water' [GD_Sasabha_Eta_Dhua.183]

(71) i) *ja'a* *ka* *pa-madhe* *heka.*
1SG PART CAUS-to.die no.longer

ii) ***èle*** ***èèna*** *na* *bor*
already DIST.SG PART drill(IND)
'I do not set (all boards) anymore, afterwards (I) drill'
[KN_Tao_Koha.036]

(72) [*ji'i* *lolo* ***èle***] [***ka*** (*ji'i*) *salake*]
1PL.ex wrap finish PART 1PL.ex take.out.frame
'After wrapping, then we take out the frame' [NS_Tao_Hengu.008]

6.3.2.2. Locative clauses

Locative clauses are expressed by the locative interrogative word *mia* 'where' preceded by relevant prepositions. In some cases, the locative noun *era* 'place' may also optionally appear in-between the prepositions and *mia* 'where'. In turn, this expression can be followed by relative clauses. The example in (73) illustrates that the expression *ètu era mia* 'at the place where' indicates the location where the event denoted by the clause *ji'i mai la* 'we come' takes place. The relative clause introduced by the relative marker *dhu* undoubtedly modifies the phrase *era mia* 'the place where', which profiles an NP in this case. In (74), the locative noun *era* 'place' is absent. The clause in-between brackets is a locative clause that functions as an adverb indicating the source location of the main clause.

The presence of the relative marker *dhu* suggests that this type of adverbial clause takes the form of a relative clause. Typologically, this proves that it is semantically equivalent to single word adverbs. The relationship between the place of the event in the main clause and that of the subordinate clause is the same (Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang, 2007: 244-245).

(73) *ji'i* *mai* *la* ***ètu*** ***era*** ***mia*** *dhu*
1PL.ex to.come PART LOC place where REL

lii	*holonori*	*Ama*	*Lamatua*	*lole*	*dan*	*peka*
sound	advice	father	Lord	to.tell	and(IND)	to.say

'We come to the place at which the Word of God is preached'
[CY_Pray.023-024]

(74)

baku	*bèlu*	*ngi'u*	*ne'e*
NEG.PROH	to.forget	body	PROX.SG

[*ngèti*	*mia*	*èdhi*	*mai*]
from	where	1PL.in	to.come

'Let us not forget from where we came' [YK_HelaBunga.091-092]

In Dhao, there is no morpheme that means 'before'. Therefore, 'before' clauses use the negative marker *mèka* 'not yet' in the subordinate clause, as shown in (75) below, as the event has not yet happened by the time the event in the main clause occurred. Therefore, it indicates a negation from the point of view of the event in the main clause (Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang, 2007: 247).

(75)

ina	*na*	*Kèdi,*	*liru*	*mea*	***mèka***
mother	3SG	to.get.up	sky	red	not.yet

'Her mother got up, before the sun rises' [Polisi.310]

6.3.2.3. Manner clauses

In Dhao, manner clauses are expressed by the use of the comparative preposition *semi* 'like, as'. They modify actions or states denoted by the predicate of the matrix clause. The manner clauses in (76) and (77) are indicated in brackets.

(76)

dara	*ai*	*rèngu*	*nia*	*heka*	*kako*
inside	limb	3PL	be.able	no.more	to.walk

[*sèmi*	*tao*	*sa-sola*	*sèra*]
like	to.make	DUP-cut.open	DIST.PL

'Their feet cannot walk any more, like being sliced wide'
[JL_Baki_Tuka.108-109]

(77)

rai	*taruu*	[*sèmi*	*dhèu*	*aae*	*nèi*
to.run	continue	be.like	person	great	REM.SG

rai	*la-'e*	*nèi*]
to.run	to.go-3SG	REM.SG

'Continue running as the way that king runs over there'
[FF_Bheni_ae_kabo. 1736-1737]

6.3.2.4. Purpose clauses

Dhao uses two simple morphemes, *ho* 'in order that' and *aeka* 'lest', and a combination of the morphemes *sèna ka* 'so that' to mark purpose clauses. The simple morpheme *ho* 'in order that' and the combination *sèna ka* 'so that' have a similar meaning. Sometimes, the both of them are present in a single construction without changing the purposive meaning of the clause.

***ho* 'in order that'**

The conjunction *ho* 'in order that' is used to introduce a purpose, and the dependent clause denotes an intended outcome. The dependent clause introduced by the conjunction *ho* 'in order that' always follows the main clause. In (78), the main clause verb is *mata* 'to wait', which is used as an imperative, followed by the conjunction *ho* 'in order that', which introduces the purpose clause with an overt subject *bèi* 'grandmother'. In (79), the subjects of the two clauses have been understood in the previous context as 1SG person, as indicated in-between brackets in the free translation; therefore, they are elided in this sentence. As is shown, the clause following *ho* 'in order that' indicates an outcome event (burying the eggs) subsequent to the purposive activity of digging the hole. Furthermore, example (80) shows an irrealis event expressed by an imperative clause.

(78) *mata* [***ho*** *bèi* *sai* *re* *haga*]
wait IRR grandmother to.chop via foot

bèi *ne'e* *we*]
grandmother PROX.SG EXCL
'Please wait, let me[6] make a line with my foot'
[CY_Lari_Na'i.442]

(79) *kèi* *rai* [***ho*** *dènu* *kanadhu* *ja'a*]
to.dig land IRR to.bury egg 1SG
'(I) dig a hole in order to bury my eggs' [TF_E'yu_Maraho.120]

(80) *la-mu* [***ho*** *pa-raga* *dènge* *badha* *hui*]
to.go-2SG IRR RECP-to.meet with animal wild
'When you go and encounter wild animals' [SB_Lolo.102]

***sèna ka* 'so that'**

Similar to *ho* 'in order that', *sèna ka* 'so that' also marks purpose clauses. The illustrations of *sèna ka* 'so that' as conjunction are given by examples (81) and (82)

[6] The translation 'me' refers to the word *bèi* 'grandma' in this example.

below. Both conjunctions *ho* 'in order that' and *sèna ka* 'so that' are consecutively combined to mark the purpose clause, as is demonstrated by example (83).

(81) *tao* *la* *dhu* *be'a* [***sèna*** ***ka***
to,make PART REL good PURP PART

ana *èdhi* *se'e* *bisa* *tao* *dhu* *be'a*]
child 1PL.in PROX.PL can to.make REL good
'Do something good so that our children also can do good things'
[Ada_20140427.141]

(82) *papa* *sèi* *r-inu* **[*sèna*** ***ka***
father(Mal) REM.PL 3PL-to.drink PURP PART

ana *madha* *baku* *sakaa*]
child eye NEG.PROH doze
'Father *et al* are drinking in order not to be sleepy' [FF_Koli_Bubhu.611]

(83) *pa-lutu* [***ho*** ***sèna*** ***ka*** *na* *j'aj'i*...]
CAUS-fine IRR PURP PART 3SG to.become
'It is smoothed in order it can become' [tao_dhepi.029]

The subject arguments of purpose clauses may be unprofiled when they have the same actor as the matrix clauses. Example (84) shows that the main clause can also be preceded by the particle *te* 'as, since' *(te) ...sèna ka* 'as…so that…'. Subject elusion also occurs in this type of construction, except when the sentence includes inflected verbs such as *m-e'a* '2SG-to know' in (84).

(84) (***te***) *aj'a* [***sèna*** ***ka*** *m-e'a*]
as to.study so.that PART 2SG-to.know

lari *na'i* *nga*
to.plant tobacco PART
'(you have to) learn so that you know how to plant tobacco'
[CY_Lari_Na'i.309]

6.3.2.5. Reason clauses

Dhao uses grammatical morphemes to mark reason clauses. The morphemes are listed in Table 6.1 below. There are three simple and two complex grammatical morphemes.

Table 6.1: Reason markers

lula	because, since
ngèti	because of
te	as, since
te… de…	as… so…
ngèti èèna ka	therefore, that is why, because of that

The conjunction *lula* 'because, since' is used to introduce reasons behind a certain statement. Reason clauses can precede or follow the main clause. In (85), the clause following the conjunction *lula* 'because, since' specifies the reason why the subject was very happy: because he got a sasando. In (86), the conjunction *lula* 'because, since' introduces the reason clause, which is followed by the main clause.

(85) *ja'a* *karej'e* *titu* *ka* *èèna*
1SG be.happy to.stand PART DIST.SG

[***lula*** *ja'a* *abhu* *sasadhu* *kalai* *kare* *ne'e*]
CAS 1SG to.get sasando branch k.o.tree PROX.SG
'I was so happy because I got a sasando made of the *kare* wood'
[YK_music.023-024]

(86) [***lula*** *ka* *èu* *dhèu* *aae* *ka* *dara*
CAS PART 2SG person great PART inside

j'ami *ne'e*] *hèba* *èu* *hue-hue*
jungle PROX.SG mouth 2SG ?
'Since you are the king in this forest, then you are talking too much'

Similar to the conjunction *lula* 'because, since' mentioned above, *te* 'because' also is used as a conjunction for reason clauses[7].

(87) *aku* *nèngu,* "*mai* *ku* ***te*** *dhèu* *èci*
according.to 3SG to.come tag because person one

ka *ne'e*"
PART PROX.SG
'She said, "please come because there is a person here'
[SK_AnaBheni_Dhe'uPidhu.076]

[7] This should be distinguished from the conjunction *te* that indicates contrast 'but', a reduced form of *tengaa* 'but'.

(88) *hia* *ja'a* ***te*** *aad'o* *na* *ja'a* *ca'e*
to.give 1SG because be.absent PART 1SG to.climb

k-ore *boe*
1SG-to.take not
'Give me, otherwise, I could not go up' [SB_Tao_Masi.161]

Like *lula* 'because, since', if subordinate clauses with *te* appear preceding main clauses, the sequential marker *de* 'so' is used, forming a complex conjunction *te…de…* The *te*-clause indicates the causal statement (reason), and the *de*-clause indicates the purpose. As illustrated in (89), the *te*-clause explains that the old lady is sick, after which the *de*-clause occurs. Likewise, (90) and (91) show that *te*-clauses are the reasons why *de*-clauses are executed.

(89) ***te*** *bhèni* *aae* *èèna* *pèda* ***de*** *ja'a* *mai*
as female great DIST.SG be.sick so 1SG to.come
'As the queen is sick so I come' [LL_Pagar_Laut.113]

(90) ***te*** *aku* *bèi* *ku* *na*
as according.to grandmother tag COMPL

kèi *ro'a* ***de*** *ja'a* *kèi* *ro'a* *nga*
to.dig hole so 1SG to.dig hole PART
'As grandmother said that dig holes, so I dig holes'
[CY_Lari_Na'i.438]

(91) *aku* *rèngu* *na* ***te*** *èu* *tenge* *èi*
according.to 3PL COMPL as 2SG to.look.for water

susu ***de*** *ji'i* *la'a* *ng-are* *èi* *susu*
milk so 1PL.ex to.go-1PL.ex 1PL.ex-to.take water milk
'They said that you wanted (buffalo) milk, so we had taken it'
[RL_Rade_Lingu.192]

6.3.2.6. Conditional clause

There are three subordinators that are used to mark conditional clauses: *ladhe* 'if', *sad'i* 'provided that, most importantly', and *aeka* 'lest'. The former is derived from the verb *ladhe* 'to see'. The conditional clause introduced by *ladhe* 'if' can appear preceding or following the main clause. In the intermediate position, the particle *na* can be used optionally. With *ladhe* 'if', the clause may imply conditional or time clauses in some cases.

Table 6.2: Conditional markers

ladhe	if
(*ladhe*)... *na*...	if… then
sad'i	provided that, most importantly

In (92) the clause following *ladhe* 'to see' indicates the condition for the event expressed in the following clause introduced by *na* 'PART'. In this respect, the particle *na* is parallel in use with the functioning as complementizer. The particle *na* preferably is absent, as is shown in (93).

(92) ***ladhe*** *ama* *paroa* *ngara* *cee*
to.see father to.call name who

na *nèngu* *dhaa*
PART 3SG to.answer
'When/if I call your name, please answer' [PL_Aj'aDhao.007]

(93) ***ladhe*** *ama* *paroa* *ngara* *cee* *nèngu* *dhaa*
to.see father to.call name who 3SG to.answer
'When/if I call your name, please answer' [PL_Aj'aDhao.007]

Another conditional conjunction is *sad'i* 'provided that, most importantly'. The condition clause may appear first, followed by the result clause or vice versa, as is illustrated in (94).

(94) *la-'a* *pahia* *dènge* *kabui* *ae*
to.go-1PL.ex to.sell with pea many

sad'i *abhu* *ngaa* *tarae* *sina*
provided.that to.get what corn China
'We sold a lot of peanuts, provided that (we) got anything, like corn'
[SB_Tao_Masi.189-190]

For negative conditionals, Dhao makes use of the negative verb *aad'o* combined with the particle *na*. The negative conditional clause is illustrated in (95) below. As is shown, the negative morpheme *aad'o* followed by the particle *na* is used to express the condition that is required for the subject to be able to perform the following event. The particle *te* preceding *aad'o na* is obligatorily used when those two clauses get combined. If they are separated into two different sentences, the particle *te* is absent.

(95) *bisa* *boe* [*èci* *kapai* *èci* *ana* *iiki*]
be.able not one big one child small

[*te* ***aad'o***] [***na*** *ja'a* *dui* *boe*]
PART be.absent PART 1SG to.carry not
'It is not possible that one be big and one be small, for if they are, I cannot carry (them)' [SB_Tao_Masi.156]

***aeka* 'lest'**

The conjunction *aeka* 'lest' signals a possibility, which also involves conditional events. Typically, *aeka* 'lest' bears a negative purposive meaning. In (96), the possibility of the subject in the result clause is dependent on the possibility of the causal event expressed by the preceding clause. In this respect, subjects are overtly expressed, as the two clauses can have different actors.

(96) *na* *mai* *do* *aad'o* ***aeka*** *na*
3SG.SUBJ.CL to.come or be.absent lest PART

bèli *ja'a* *mai* *heka*
tomorrow 1SG to.come no.more
'Whether or not he comes, if not, I will not come anymore tomorrow'
[PM_Meoaasu.049]

6.3.2.7. Sequential clauses

In Dhao, sequential clauses use three morphemes: *hèia* 'then, afterwards', *ka* 'then, so', and *heka* 'then, afterwards'. A list of their meanings is given in Table 6.3 below.

Table 6.3. Sequential markers

hèia	then, afterwards
ka	then, so
heka	then, afterwards

The conjunction *hèia* 'then' signals a sequential relation between phrases or clauses. It may occur after temporal adverbs, such as the one shown in (97), or between two clause events, such as the example in (98). In the latter example, the subject is absent because the two clauses share their subject.

(97) *ca* *lod'o* *hari* ***hèia*** *bhèni* *aae* *ne'e…*
one day again SEQ female great PROX.SG

ae *n-are* *hèu* *hisu* *nèngu*
smell 3SG-to.take smell wound 3SG
'One day, the queen smelt the odor of his wound'
[FF_Koli_Bubhu.300-301]

(98) *r-a'a* *r-inu* *r-are* ***hèia*** *lèpa…*
3PL-to.eat 3PL-to.drink 3PL-to.take SEQ to.return
'After eating and drinking, they returned (home)' [FF_Koli_Bubhu.437]

In this case, the particle *ka* is used as a conjunction that means 'then, so' (see §3.6.4). It bears two functions. Firstly, it marks a sequential clause similar to the conjunction *hèia* 'then, afterwards' as described above. As such, the two clauses may share their arguments, as exemplified in (99) wherein the subject is absent. Example (100) shows that there are three events: (1) his father was stealing, (2) the police brought in his father, and (3) his father was imprisoned for seven years. The subject of the causal clause, *ama mu* 'your father' becomes the object of the result clauses in turn. The objects are not overtly expressed.

(99) *nèngu* *mai* *èmu* [***ka*** (*nèngu*) *peka*
3SG to.come house PART 3SG say

dènge *bèi*]
with grandmother
'When he got back home, he told the old lady' [SB_Lolo.202]

(100) *ama* *mu* *mana'u* [***ka*** *polisi* *r-èti* ***Ø***]
father 2SG.CL to.steal PART police 3PL-to.bring

[***ka*** *bèdho* *Ø* *pidhu* *tèu*]
PART to.close seven year
'Your father was stealing so the police arrested (him), then jailed (him) for seven years' [SK_Dhe'u_E'ta _Dua.089]

Secondly, *heka* 'and then' also marks sequential events[8]. It indicates that one event is conditional to another event. In (101), the first clause designates the condition by which the latter, introduced by *heka*, occurs. The appearance of the particle *na* after

[8] Notice that the conjunction *heka* 'and then' is homonymous with the negator *heka* 'no more', aspectual adverb *heka* 'have just', and state verb *heka* 'be old'.

the main clause is optional. Sequential clauses with *heka* 'and then' never precede main clauses.

(101) *pa-dai* *tèlu* *bèla* (*na*) [***heka*** *ji'i*
CAUS-to.reach three sheet PART then 1PL.ex

la-'a *pahia* *ka* *èèna*]
to.go-1PL.ex to.sell PART DIST.SG
'After finishing three sheets, then we go sell that' [SB_Enyu_Dhepi.045]

6.3.2.8. Concessive clauses

Dhao uses complex morphemes to mark concessive clauses. Dhao employs two complex morphemes: *masi ka* 'although' and *ngaa te* 'whereas'[9]. The former also can be combined with the particle *te*. A concessive clause introduced by *masi ka* 'although' can occur either before or after the main clause. Example (102) provides an example of a concessive clause in sentence-initial position. When *masi ka*-clauses precede the main clause, the complex expression *na ka oo* 'but yet' is obligatory. Thus, the formula is *masi ka … na ka oo…* 'although… but/yet…'. The particle *te* can optionally precede the main clause, as shown in (103).

(102) *nèngu* *j'aj'i* *mi* *musu* [***masi*** ***ka***
3SG to.become toward enemy although PART

pa-angalai]
RECP-friend
'He becomes an enemy although we are friends' [TF_E'yu_Maraho.177]

(103) [***masi*** ***ka*** *sèmi* *èèna*] ***[na*** ***ka*** ***oo***
although PART be.like DIST.SG PART PART PART
'Although it is like that' [FF_Koli_Bubhu.779]

(*te*) *èle* *mèu* *dhèu* *èle* *nga*
but finished all person already PART
'But all people had tried' [FF_Koli_Bubhu.780]

The conjunction *ngaa te* 'whereas' signifies contrast between the first clause and the second clause. The clause introduced by *ngaa te* 'whereas' indicates an unexpected event or state, in contrast to the earlier clause. The *ngaa te*-clause always occurs after the main clause. The clause in (104)a is the main clause, while (104)b is the subordinate clause. The example in (105)a is a statement by one of the interlocutors in the text, in which he said that his food was eaten completely. Example (105)b

[9] The latter is derived from the interrogative word *ngaa* 'what' and the particle *te*.

designates a contrastive fact: the things he had he said were not true, as a dog has eaten his food rather than he himself.

(104) a. *aku* *busa* *èèna* *unu* *ja'a* *èle*
according.to dog DIST.SG own 1SG finish

le *ka* *hèi*
already PART also
'The dog said, 'mine is finish'' [FF_Koha_Lubhu.096]

b. ***ngaa*** ***te*** *kau* *dhu* *hari* *boe* *era*
what but rice REL again not still
'Whereas he had rice no more' [FF_Koha_Lubhu.097-098]

(105) a. *unu* *ja'a* *oe* *èle* *ka* *na* *nga*
to.own 1SG almost finish PART PART tag
'Mine is also almost finish'' [FF_Koha_Lubhu.087]

b. ***ngaa*** ***te*** *busa* *n-a'a*
what PART dog 3SG-to.eat
'Whereas, the dog eat (it) ' [FF_Koha_Lubhu.088]

6.4. Serial Verb Constructions

Haspelmath (2016: 292) defines a serial verb construction (SVC) as follows.

> A serial construction is a monoclausal construction consisting of multiple independent verbs with no element linking them and with no predicate-argument relation between them.

Based on that definition, Dhao serial verb constructions (SVCs) have the syntactic characteristics as shown in (a). In addition, I also present the semantics of Dhao SVCs in (b).

a) Syntactic:
   (i) SVCs involve two or more verbs;
   (ii) The verbs involved must be independent;
   (iii) SVCs are schematic: the meanings of the constructions are predictable from the meanings of its parts.
   (iv) SVCs are monoclausal constructions with shared argument(s) and grammatical categories, such as aspect markers and negators;
   (v) SVCs lack coordinators or subordinators;
   (vi) No predicate-argument relation between the verbs involved in the series.

b) Semantic:
   (i) SVCs indicate one complex event involving two or more simultaneous sub-events.

6.4.1. Morphosyntax of SVCs

The meaning of a SVC construction must be predictable from the verbs involved in the SVCs, which implies that SVCs are compositional. Consequently, non-compositional combinations, like idiomatic expressions, are not SVCs; therefore, in this thesis, they are categorized as compounds (§4.5.2). Verbs can occur consecutively or their adjacency can be interrupted by a constituent. The schematic character of SVCs is reflected by the fixed order of the verb sequence. In Dhao, SVCs include three verbs at most. Dynamic verbs occur as the first verbs (V1), while direction verbs are the second verbs (V2) in most instances. Direction verbs can occur as V1 with a limited number of dynamic and state verbs as their V2.

Some examples are presented below. The constructions in (106) and (107) involve the verb *rai* 'to run' functioning as V1 and *mai* 'to come' and *la-* 'to go' as V2 signalling the direction of the action denoted by the V1 in (106) and (107) respectively.

(106) *ana* *cika* *èèna* ***rai*** ***mai***
child cika DIST.SG to.run to.come
'The cika bird ran (to him)' [SB_Lolo.288]

(107) *nèngu* ***rai*** ***la-'e*** *le* *na*
3SG to.run to.go-3SG PERF PART
'He ran there' [PM_Sobhu.085]

Example (108) shows an idiomatic expression in which the meaning of the construction is not determined by the meaning of the verbs. None of the verbs indicates the intended meaning.

(108) *ja'a* ***soa*** ***da'u*** *j'u'u*
1SG to.jump to.scoop grass
'I sort out grass' [SB_Tao_Masi.015]

One of the salient criteria of SVCs is that the constructions are monoclausal. The sharing of arguments is obviously seen in Dhao, especially when employing inflected verbs. In (109)a, both verbs are inflected with the same person and number, that being '3SG'. The two prefixes refer to the same referent in the discourse. The same also holds true for (110), wherein the two verbs share the same subject: *nèngu* '3SG'. The argument sharing also is clearly seen by the inflection of the second verb. The perfective marker *le* 'PERF', which occurs after the SVC, covers both verbs.

(109) a. ***n-a'a*** ***n-èdhi*** *boe* *ngaa-ngaa*
3SG-to.eat 3SG-to.see not DUP-what
'He has never eaten anything' [FF_Koha_Lubhu.134]

b. ***nèngu*** ***n-a'a,*** ***nèngu*** ***n-èdhi*** *boe* *ngaa-ngaa*
3SG 3SG-to.eat 3SG 3SG-to.see not DUP-what
i) *'He has never eaten anything'
ii) 'He eats and he sees nothing'

(110) *nèngu* ***rai*** ***la-'e*** ***le*** *na*
3SG to.run to.go-3SG PERF PART
'He already ran there' [PM_Sobhu.085]

Another significant criterion of SVCs is that the verbs must be independent: they are able to occur in predicate slot on their own. An independent verb is a form that can express a dynamic event without any special coding in predication function and that can occur in a non-elliptical utterance without another verb (Sebba, 1997:39 in Haspelmath, 2016). The forms which are dependent on the verb, normally functioning as predicate modifiers either as aspectual markers or adverbial elements, do not qualify for SVCs. In Dhao, a dynamic verb, such as *kèpe* 'to catch' followed by the verb *–are* 'to take' constitutes an SVC that indicates the benefactive-direction meaning 'towards', as given in (111). Both verbs are attested as independent verbs, as shown in (112) and (113) respectively.

(111) *nèngu* ***kèpe*** ***n-are*** *tatea* *èèna*
3SG to.catch 3SG-to.take walking.stick DIST.SG
'He took the walking stick' [SB_Lolo.135]

(112) *nèngu* ***kèpe*** *ja'a* *ka* *pèci* *asa* *dara* *dhasi*
3SG to.catch 1SG PART to.throw to inside sea
'He hold me and throw me into sea' [SK_Polisi.950]

(113) *nèngu* ***n-are*** *apel* *ètu* *dedha* *buku*
3SG 3SG-to.take apple(IND) LOC above book(IND)
'He takes the apple on the book' [Loc_Elicited.072]

Some have multiple functions, for example *èle* 'to finish', which functions both as a verb as well as an aspectual marker. The form *èle* 'to finish' is attested as an independent verb and can also be used as a perfective marker. For the latter function, it is preferably reduced to *le*. Therefore, when the full form *èle* 'to finish' appears as the second verb in combination with a dynamic verb, like *jingi* 'to tidy up', as illustrated in (114), the construction is considered a SVC. This is evidenced by the fact that the reduced form *le* 'PERF' functioning as perfective marker can co-exist with the independent full form, as is shown in (115).

(114) ***pa-jingi*** ***èle*** *heka* *pa-ciu*
CAUS-to.clear.up finish just CAUS-to.tear
'Tidy it up first and then tear (it)' [SF_Tao_Hengu.280]

(115) *aku* *busa* *na* *unu* *ja'a* ***èle*** ***le*** *kahèi*
according.to dog PART own 1SG finish PERF also
'The dog said, 'mine is already finished'' [FF_Koha_Lubhu.096]

Paratactic constructions also appear like SVCs in terms of the consecutive occurrence of verbs. An extreme sequence of verbs is shown in (116) below. It is a complement construction marked by the complementizer *na* (see §6.3.2.1). The matrix clause itself contains a SVC consisting of two verbs, *pèci* 'to throw' and the inflected verb *mere* 'to take'. Furthermore, the complement clause has seven verbs that occur consecutively, schematized in (117). It is difficult to determine SVCs in this construction, as there are no overt syntactic markings. Contributing to this difficulty is the fact that subject and object deletion is a common pattern in natural discourse in Dhao. As such, argument sharing is difficult to identify. After looking at the construction in detail, it appears that it has two separate clauses tied together. The first clause involves V1-V3, while the second clause involves V4-V7. It is shown that they have separate subjects, even though the different subjects refer to the same referent. The separate clauses are given in (118) and (119). As such, the complement clause covers only the first clause in this construction, while the second clause is a separate clause that designates another follow-up event, which is the event that takes place after another event (fetch) The addition of implied elements, which are placed within brackets, suggests that the consecutive verbs can be intervened with by subordinator *ho* 'in order to'. There still are two sequence of verbs, *lami madhutu* 'go to fetch' and *la'e tenge* 'go to look for'. In turn, these will not be considered as SVCs either, due to their predicate-argument relation. As the result, no sequence of the seven verbs qualifies as a SVC.

(116) *pèci* *m-ere* *na* *mai* *la-mi* *madhutu*
throw 2PL-to.take COMPL come go-2PL follow

mai *hia* *la-'e* *tenge*
come to.give to.go-3SG to.look.for
'after throwing it, (you) go home and took (him), (you) come to asked (him) to find…' [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.1061-1063]

(117) *mai* *la-mi* *madhutu* *mai* *hia* *la-'e* *tenge*
to.come to.go-2PL to.follow to.come to.give to.go-3SG to.look.for
V_1 V_2 V_3 V_4 V_5 V_6 V_7

(118) (*miu*) *mai* (*ho*) *la-mi* *madhutu* (*nèngu*)
2PL to.come PART to.go-2PL to.follow 3SG
'You come in order to fetch (him)'

(119) (*miu*) *mai* (*ho*) *hia* (*nèngu*)
2PL to.come PART to.give 3SG

la-'e *tenge* (*kadhèli*)
to.go-3SG to.look.for ring
'You come in order to ask (him) to look for (the ring)'

The consecutive occurrence of verbs cannot be considered as SVCs if there is a predicate-argument relation between them. A verb can form a predication that functions as complement to another verb. In (120) and (121), the V1s function as matrix verbs and the V2s indicate the purposes of the action denoted by the V1s, and as such, they are subordinate verbs. Therefore, they cannot qualify as SVCs by definition.

(120) *ho* ***la-si*** ***karèi*** *dhèu*
PART to.go-3PL to.ask person
'They went to propose for someone' [tao_dhepi.180]

(121) *ji'i* ***mai*** ***tenge*** *kahib'i* *ne'e* *do*
1PL.in to.come to.look.for goat PROX.SG tag
'We come to find the goats here' [SK_Polisi.538]

Unlike (120), the directional verb *la-* 'to go' combined with the action verb *mari* 'to laugh' do make up a SVC in (122), since they do not express purposive meanings.

(122) *ja'a* ***la-ku*** ***mari*** ***pa-mèdhu*** *de* *tadèngi*
1SG to.go-1SG to.laugh CAUS-aloud so to.hear

de *be'a* *le*
so good PERF
'I was laughing loudly so (tiger) hear so (he said) it's good'
[PM_Meo aasu.120-121]

6.4.2. Semantics of SVCs

The semantic relationship between the verbs involved in serialization varies, and the meaning is not always compositional. Serialization can have a very high collocation and be lexicalized so that the meaning cannot be plainly predicted from the meanings of the parts, although the meaning still is quite transparent. For example, in (123), the SVC with *rai* 'to run' and *mai* 'to come' is more transparent, as the meaning of the SVC is readily understood from the meaning of those two verbs. A

SVC like *ngee* ‘to think’ and *kèdhi* ‘to see’, as shown in (124), is less transparent, as the meaning is not compositional even though it still is predictable.

(123) *ana cika èèna **rai** **mai***
child cika DIST.SG to.run to.come
‘The cika bird ran towards (him)’ [SB_Lolo.288]

(124) *ja’a **ngee** **k-èdhi** sa-sabha èci ka ne'e*
1SG to.think 1SG-to.see DUP-to.work one PART PROX.SG
‘I have thought of a work here’[AL_Tuku_Doi_Pudhi.011]
(Lit.: I think and see a work here)

Some SVCs still are transparent in terms of the lexical meanings of the verbs involved. However, it often is the case that one of the members of a SVC changes from its original meaning and category (Arka, 2007:196). One example is the verb *dai* ‘to reach’.

(125) *tèu aru nguru dua ja'a la-ku **dai** Kota*
year eight tens two 1SG to.go-1SG to.reach Kupang
‘In 1982, I went to Kupang’ [YK_music.029]

(126) *r-a'a r-inu **dai** jam lèpa kèna*
3PL-to.eat 3PL-to.drink to.reach hour(IND) to.return DEF
‘They had meals until the time to go home’ [FF_Koli_Bubhu.455]

(127) *hua nèngu **dai** tèlu bua èpa bua sèra*
fruit 3SG to.reach three QNT four QNT DIST.PL
‘Its designs have three or four types’ [SF_Tao_Hengu.049]

Another example is the generic action verb *tao* ‘to make, to do’. The lexical meaning of *tao* as ‘to make’ is shown in (128) and ‘to do’ in (129). In (130), the verb *tao* is modified by another verb which is derived by the prefix *pa-* attached to a state verb *be’a* ‘be.good’.

(128) *èdhi **tao** aj'u **tao** kakama*
1PL to.make wood to.make k.o.handle
‘We take wood to make its handle’ [GD_Sasabha_Eta_Dhua.150]

(129) *ja'a **tao** **lèke** boe*
1SG to.do right not
‘I did it not right’ [YK_HelaBunga.009]

(130) *ja'a* ***tao*** ***pa-be'a*** *ana* *cika* *ne'e*
1SG to.make CAUS-good child cika PROX.SG
'I heal the cika bird' [SB_Lolo.174]

Since the meaning of *tao* covers 'to make' and 'to do', its semantics then change and can be used as adverb-like elements to indicate an activity that is done regularly. In this respect, *tao* can be interpreted as a word that covers the meaning of 'usually' or 'only'. In (131), the interpretation of *tao lole* indicates that the subject *nèngu* '3SG' has a regular activity, which is telling stories. Furthermore, in (132), the combination of *tao pahia* suggests that the only activity that the subject does regularly in order to make money is singing, which is metaphorically expressed by the phrase *pahia lii* 'to sell voice' in this particular case.

(131) *te* *nèngu* ***tao*** ***lole*** *ka* *la*
but 3SG to.make to.tell PART PART
'But she usually told stories' [CY_Lari_Na'i.005]

(132) *nèngu* ***tao*** ***pahia*** *lii* *èèna* *ka*
3SG to.make to.sell voice DIST.SG PART

nèngu *sug'i* *kaja*
3SG rich rich
'He was only a singer but he was rich' [SK_AbuNabas.075]

6.4.3. Types of SVCs

The types of SVCs in this section are based on the semantics of the verbs involved in a series. As explained above, verbs can undergo semantic shifts and categories can change. Therefore, some verbs may overlap in terms of meaning. For example, the verb *dai* 'to reach' can overlap with the verb *–are* 'to take' in terms of locational meaning. Similarly, the verb *tao* 'to make, to do' and *hia* 'to give' overlap in terms of causation.

6.4.3.1. Directional serialization

Directional serialization makes use of the verb *mai* 'to come' and *la-* 'to go'. They occur as V2 in a series. The verb *mai* 'to come' indicates that the motion is directed towards the actor, while *la-* 'to go' implies that the motion is directed away from the actor. They share one core argument. The clause is transitive if the V1 has an object argument. In such a case, the object of V1 is interpreted as the subject of V2, which is the directional verb *mai* 'to come' or *la-* 'to go'. In some cases, the directional verb has an agent/subject that includes the patient of the other verb. For example,

aV1 one can be *hia* ‘to give’ with patient argument *jala* ‘fishing net’, which in turn becomes the subject of the V2 *mai* ‘to come’. In other cases, the two verbs can share the same arguments. For instance, *puru* ‘to descend’ and *mai* ‘to come’ can share the same subject. V1 indicates the action and V2 the direction. The two verbs can exist consecutively or be intervened with by locational phrases.

The verb *mai* ‘to come’ occupies V2 positions to give interpretation that the action denoted by the V1 causes the entity in the discourse to move towards the subject or speaker. The verbs in V1 should be action verbs. Both verbs can occur consecutively or be intervened by by peripheral elements such as locative phrases or adverbials. The example in (133) shows that the V1 is the action-motion verb *rai* ‘to run’ immediately followed by V2 *mai* ‘to come’. The V1 denotes that the action is executed by the subject *ana cika* ‘cika bird’, while the V2 signals the motion of the action is being directed towards the speaker of the utterance. As such, constructions like this can be intervened by by a peripheral element such as a prepositional phrase indicating location, as is illustrated in (134)a. However, the periphery is optional; it can be moved or deleted, allowing the two verbs to exist consecutively in that construction, as is shown in (134)b. The same also applies to the examples with the benefactive verb *hia* ‘to give’ as V1 in (135)a. The V1 has an object that appears before t V2 *mai* ‘to come’. The verb *mai* ‘to come’ signals the motion of the object *jala* ‘net’ towards the speaker. Like in the previous example, the two verbs can appear consecutively, as shown in (135)b. Other verb series of this type are demonstrated in (136). The literal glosses are provided within angle brackets […].

(133) *ana cika èèna* ***rai*** ***mai***
child cika DIST.SG to.run to.come
‘The cika bird ran towards (him)’ [SB_Lolo.288]

(134) a. *nèngu* ***puru*** *asa rai haha* ***mai***
3SG to.descend to land below to.come
‘She came down to the earth’ [BS_Tuka_Suki.015]

b. *nèngu* ***puru*** ***mai*** *asa rai haha*
3SG to.descend to.come to land below
‘She came down to the earth’

(135) a. ***hia*** *ku jala èèna* ***mai***
to.give tag net DIST.SG to.come
‘Give me the net’ [FF_Bheni_ae_kabo.175]

b. ***hia*** ***mai*** *ku jala èèna*
to.give to.come tag net DIST.SG
‘Give me the net’

(136)			
	bèbhe mai	'to fall down'	[fall come]
	bhori mai	'to pour'	[pour come]
	bodho mai	'to appear'	[appear come]
	dhuli mai	'to visit'	[visit come][10]
	dui mai	'to carry (on shoulder'	[carry come]
	-èti mai	'to bring'	[bring come]
	hake mai	'to come down'	[strike come]
	kako mai	'to walk here'	[walk come]
	lela mai	'to fly'	[fly come]
	lèpa mai	'to come back'	[return come]
	lola la-	'to drip away'	[drip go]
	muri mai	'to grow'	[grow come]
	pa'adhu mai	'to send'	[send come]
	pasoka mai	'to jump'	[jump come]
	rea mai	'to shine, rise (sun)'	[shine come]
	ridhu mai	'to jump down'	[jump come]
	rodo mai	'to crawl here'	[crawl come]
	sabhoka mai	'to exit quickly'	[exit quickly come]
	suti mai	'to drop down' (water)	[drop come]

When the verb *la-* 'to go' occupies a V2 slot, it indicates direction, in this case, away from the subject or from the speaker. Both verbs can occur consecutively in predicate position or can be in periphrastic position. In such cases, a location or an adverb can intervene between them optionally. Unlike *mai* 'to come', the verb *la-* 'to go' requires suffixes for inflection based on person and number (see verb inflection in §4.2). In (137), the 3SG suffix attached to the verb *la-* 'to go' is coreferential with the noun *rai* 'land, soil' in the preceding clause. Thus, *la'e* signals the direction of the soil, which is away from the actor. Similarly, in (138)a, the 3SG suffix attached to *la-* 'to go' is co-referential with the object of the previous clause (finger), which is implied in this construction. Like the verb *mai* 'to come', the verb *la-* 'to go' also can occur consecutively with other verbs, such as in (138)b. Other combinations of SVCs with *la-* 'to go' are given in (139).

(137)	*hèia*	*la-ku*	*da'u*	*rai*	*ka*	*mai*	*ka*
	then	to.go-1SG	to.scoop	land	PART	to.come	PART

bhori ***la-'e***
pour to.go-3SG
'Then I went to take the soil and pour it on' [CY_Lari_Na'i.326]

[10] This verb can only be combined with *mai* 'to come', not *la-* 'to go'

(138) a. ***tao*** *asa dara èi kadosa* ***la-'e***
to.make to inside water vinegar to.go-3SG
'Thus he put (his finger) in vinegar'
[SK_AnaBheni_Dhe'uPidhu.229]

b. ***tao*** ***la-'e*** *asa dara èi kadosa*
make to.go-3SG to inside water vinegar
'Thus he put (his finger) in vinegar'

(139)

bèbhe la-	'to fall away'	[fall go]
bodho la-	'to appear'	[appear go]
dui la-	'to carry (on shoulder'	[carry go]
-èti la-	'to bring'	[bring go]
hake la-	'to go down'	[strike go]
hia la-	'to give away'	[give go]
kako la-	'to walk there'	[walk go]
lela la-	'to fly away'	[fly go]
lèpa la-	'to go back'	[return go]
lèpe la-	'to fold away'	[fold go][11]
lola la-	'to drip away'	[drip go]
pa'adhu la-	'to send'	[send go]
pakihu la-	'to mix away'	[mix go]
pasoka la-	'to jump'	[jump go]
ridhu la-	'to jump there'	[jump go]
rodo la-	'to crawl there'	[crawl go]
sabhoka la-	'to exit quickly'	[exit quickly go]

La- 'to go' has a broader usage than *mai* 'to come'. It can function as an adverbial-like element as well. It probably is the case that the inflected verb *la-* 'to go' is lexicalized for specific purposes. As illustrated in (140), *la'e* occurs in final position, but it does not have a morpho-syntactic relation with the 3SG person. As indicated within angle brackets, it is within a phrase indicating time 'forever'. Similarly, the form *la'a* is combined with the generic action verb *tao* 'to make' in (141). Again, it has no morpho-syntactic relation to the clausal subject *ja'a* '1SG' or the object of the previous clause, which also is understood as the object of the given clause. In the Dhao inflectional system the form *la'a*, should agree with 1PL.EX person, which is absent in this particular construction. The same also applies to the example in (142), where the object *lili* 'candle' intervenes between the two verbs. Again, *la'a* does not agree with any arguments in the clause. Despite its lexicalization, the directional meaning attached to the verb *la-* 'to go' still is quite transparent.

11 This verb can only be combined with *la-* 'to go', not *mai* 'to come'

(140) *tengaa* *sa-sue* *ngèti* *Lamatua* *nèngu* [*toke* *dai*
but DUP-to.love from Lord 3SG until to.reach

mia *mia* ***la'e***]
where where to.go
'Because the love of the Lord remains forever'
[YK_HelaBunga.071-074]

(141) *ja'a* *k-ore* *hèngu* *deo* *èèna* *ho*
1SG 1SG-to.take thread recent DIST.SG so.that

ja'a *tao* ***la'a***
1SG to.make go
'I take the thread then I put (it) in' [SB_Tao_Rabhi.087-088]

(142) *ja'a* *k-ore* *ladha.rai* *ho*
1SG 1SG-to.take palm.leaf's.rip PART

ja'a ***roso*** *lili* ***la'a***
1SG to.rub candle to.go
'I take wood then I rub wax into the wood' [SB_Tao_Rabhi.177]

As already explicated above,when *la-* fills a V1 slot followed by dynamic verbs it results in purposive clauses in which there is an argument-predicate relation that does not qualify for the definition of SVCs in turn. Contrastively stative verbs, including cognition verbs, can follow *la-* 'to go' in V2 slot as SVCs. Therefore, in (143), the combination of *laku mari* 'laugh' is acceptable as a SVC. The directional meaning of *la-* 'to go' is more abstract in this case. More verbs following *la-* 'to go' as V2 are given in (144).

(143) *te* *ja'a* ***la-ku*** ***mari***
because 1SG to.go-1SG to.laugh
'Because I was laughing' [PM_Meo aasu.120]

(144)

la-	*-èdhi*	'ever go'	[go see]
la-	*rage*	'to see'	[go meet]
la-	*bèbhe*	'to fall'	[go fall]
la-	*dètu*	'approaching'	[go near]
la-	*kajape*	'get lost'	[go drawee]
la-	*-are*	'have arrived'	[go take]

6.4.3.2. Benefactive serialization

Benefactive serialization uses the verb *hia* 'to give' and *–are* 'to take'. Both verbs can occur as V2 only. The benefactive meaning of *hia* 'to give' is expressed in a prepositional slot, which is in peripheral position. As such, *hia* 'to give' is

considered a prepositional verb in this respect. The verb *–are* 'to take' always occurs consecutively after the V1 and requires inflectional prefixes to agree in person and number. The benefactive meaning of *–are* 'to take' also involves motion towards speakers or actors. Therefore, it is treated as indicating directionality in previous research. In this thesis, I consider it a directional-benefactive verb. In (145), the V1 is *tao* 'to make, to do' which indicates that the action is executed by the subject *èu* '2SG', whose object is *nganga'a nginu* 'meals'. The verb *hia* 'to give' implies that the object is for the receiver *ja'a* '1SG'. In such a case, *hia* 'to give' has a prepositional function. In (146), both verbs use *hia* 'to give'. The first *hia* 'to give' fills the V1 slot as the main verb and the second *hia* 'to give' fills the prepositional slot. Notice that the verb *hia* 'to give' also designates causative meaning.

(145)

masi	*èu*	***tao***	*nga-nga'a*	*nginu*
although	2SG	make	DUP-eat	drink

hia	*ja'a*	*na*	*ka*
give	1SG	PART	PART

'However you cooked meals for me'
[SK_Dhe'u_E'ta _Dua.095-096]

(146)

ja'a	***hia***	*gaji*	***hia***	*èu*
1SG	to.give	wage(IND)	to.give	2SG

'I give salary to you' [SK_Dhe'u_E'ta _Dua.100]

The benefactive meaning using the verb *–are* 'to take' is given in (147) and (148). It is worth noting that the benefactive serialization by *–are* 'to take' requires an object implying that the V1 needs to be a transitive (action) verb. The verb *–are* 'to take' also undergoes semantic shift so can indicate completion.

(147)

nèngu	***kèpe***	***n-are***	*tatea*	*èèna*
3SG	to.catch	3SG-to.take	walking.stick	DIST.SG

'He took the stick' [SB_Lolo.135]

(148)

aku	*nèngu*	*mata*	*ja'a*	***pa-pènu***	***k-ore***	*ku*
according.to	3SG	to.wait	1SG	CAUS-full	1SG-to.take	tag

sabha	*èi*	*la*
palm.container	water	PART

'He said, wait I make the water container full' [BS_Tuka_Suki.315-316]

6.4.3.3. Experiential serialization

Experiential serialization is called as such because some SVCs designate the experience of a subject or actor doing something. The experience is expressed by the

verb *-èdhi* ‘to see’. This verb requires inflectional prefixes based on person and number. The verb *-èdhi* ‘to see’ fills the V2 slot, while the V1 slot is filled by either a dynamic or a stative verb. Dynamic verbs that can fill V1 slots are demonstrated in (150) through (151), including their respective inflectional affixes. The verb *–edhi* ‘to see’ emphasizes that the subjects of V1s have experience doing it.

(149)

te	*ne'e*	*ne*	*èu*	*m-e'a*	*èta*	*Dhua*
because	PROX.SG	PROX.SG	2SG	2SG-to.know	tap	palmwine

ka	*èdhi*	***t-inu***	***t-èdhi***	*dhua*
PART	1PL	1PL-to.drink	1PL-to.see	palmwine

‘now you know how to tap lontar palm, so we can drink palm juice’ [BS_Tuka_Suki.244-245]

(150)

n-a'a	***n-èdhi***	*boe*	*ngaa-ngaa*
3SG-eat	3SG-see	not	DUP-what

‘he never eats anything’ [FF_Koha_Lubhu.134]

(151)

èmu	*gareja*	*ne’e*
house	church(Mal)	PROX.SG

ja'a	***la-ku***	***k-èdhi***	*boe*
1SG	to.go-1SG	1SG-to.see	not

‘I never go to church’ [PD_Tua_Tana.247]

Stative verbs filling in V1 slots are illustrated in (152) and (153). The verb *–èdhi* ‘to see’ in the V2 slot implies that the subjects or actors themselves experience the activity denoted by V1.

(152)

nèbhu	*boe*	*ana*	*cika*	***ladhe***	***n-èdhi***	*nèngu*
long.time	not	child	cika	to.look	3SG-to.see	3SG

‘Not long, a cika bird saw him’ [SB_Lolo.287]

(153)

ja’a	***ngee***	***k-èdhi***	*sa-sabha*	*èci*	*ka*	*ne'e*
1SG	to.think	1SG-to.see	DUP-to.work	one	PART	PROX.SG

i) ‘I remembered a job here’ [AL_Tuku_Doi_Pudhi.011]
ii) ‘I thought of a job here’

6.4.3.4. Causative serialization

Causative serialization is expressed through two strategies. Firstly, through the combination of action verbs, either generic or specific, as V1 and *pa-* prefixed words as V2. Those *pa*-words are derived from state verbs that normally cannot qualify for independent predicate slots. Secondly, it employs the verb *hia* ‘to give’ as V1 and

other dynamic verbs as V2. While the first strategy only allows consecutive order, the second strategy can allow periphrastic constructions in which the object of the V1 becomes the subject of V2, as is shown in (156).

(154) *ja'a* ***tao*** ***pa-be'a*** *ana* *cika* *ne'e*
1SG to.make CAUS-good child cika PROX.SG
'I heal the cika bird' [SB_Lolo.174]

(155) ***la-'e*** ***sanuu*** ***pa-mèdhi*** *èmu*
to.go-3SG fumigate CAUS-black house
'She went to fumigate her house black' [BS_Rika_Jote.045]

(156) *ja'a* ***hia*** *èu* ***rai*** *asa* *haa* *na*
1SG to.give 2SG to.run to west PART

èu *rai* *asa* *dhimu* *la-mu*
2SG to.run to east to.go-2SG
'I asked you to go westward, but you go eastward'
[TF_E'yu_Maraho.066]

(157) *tengaa* *bèi* *èèna* ***hia*** ***la-'e*** ***lu'u***
but grandmother DIST.SG to.give to.go-3SG hide

asa *èmu* *dedha*
to house above
'But the old lady asked him to hide in the attic' [SB_Lolo.067]

6.4.3.5. Manner serialization

The generic action verb *tao* 'to make, to do' also is used as an adverbial element to express the manner of the action denoted by the main verb. It always is followed by a verb indicating manner.

(158) *mai* *èmu* *mai* ***tao*** ***kako***
to.come house to.come to.make to.walk
'Came home on foot' [SK_AbuNabas.258]

(159) *ana* *mone* *dhèu* *dua* *padhai* *lii* ***tao*** ***titu***
child male person two to.speak voice to.make stand
'The two boys are talking while standing' [Recip_Elicited.001]

6.4.3.6. Simultaneous serialization

Simultaneous serialization expresses a sequence of events happening at the same time with two different verbs. The verbs always occur consecutively. Normally, the

V1 expresses the main event and V2 is an embedded event. However, without V2, the complex event is considered as incomplete.

(160) *aku* *nèngu* *ja'a* ***tangi*** ***paroa*** *dhèu*
according.to 3SG 1SG to.weep to.call person
'He said, I was crying while calling people' [PD_Koli_Bubhu.041]

6.4.3.7. Completive serialization

Completive serialization uses the verb *–are* 'to take' to fill the V2 slot, while the V1 slot can be filled by any verb. It indicates that the action or event done by the subject is completed, and that another action or event will follow. As a result, such a combination requires a sequential clause. As illustrated in (161) and (162), the inflected verb *–are* 'to take' is in the V2 slot. V1 *bagi* 'to divide' and *na'a* 'he eats' designate the action the actor is doing, and *–are* 'to take' signals the completion of those actions. Notice that this construction can only be followed by *na*-complement clauses.

(161) ***bagi*** ***t-are*** *na* *ènyu* *j'aj'i* *kanacha*
to.divide 1PL-in-to.take PART to.plait to.become k.o.tool
'After dividing, it is plaited to become kanaca' [AL_Kanacha.013]

(162) ***n-a'a*** ***n-are*** *ka* *j'unu* *ka* *mi* *dedha*
3SG-to.eat 3SG-to.take PART to.sleep PART unto above

laa *aj'u* *deo* *èèna*
stem wood recent DIST.SG
'After eating, he fell asleep on the wood' [SB_Lolo.042]

6.4.3.8. Instrumental serialization

Instrumental serialization is expressed by the verb *pake* 'to use' in a V2 slot. The members of its V1 are dynamic verbs. The verb *pake* 'to use' originally is a loan from Malay. Dhao does not have any specific lexical items to express the meaning 'to use'. The interpretation can be obtained through the meaning of different words, such as *re* 'through' and the prepositions *ma* or *mi*. The meaning 'to use' originally was illustrated by constructions like the ones presented in (163) and (164). The current usage of Dhao mostly employs the verb *pake* 'to use', which results in SVCs. Example (165) illustrates that the actor was cleaning something using his cloth. As is shown, the verb *pake* 'to use' appears after the derived causative verb *pamèu* 'to clean'. Furthermore, (166) shows the verb *pake* 'to use' follows an action verb *lolo* 'to roll'. The activity of *lolo* 'to roll' is executed by using the instrument *kaba* 'k.o.shell'.

(163) *mone heka ne'e tanae dhua* ***re*** *sabha*
man old.age PROX.SG to.store sap via palm.container
'This man store the lontar sap using palm container'
[Verb_Elicited.00221]

(164) *ho t-inu dhua* ***ma*** *dara sabha*
so.that 1PL.in-to.drink palmwine toward inside palm.container
'In order we could drink palm juice using the palm container'
[Eta_Dhua.058]

(165) ***pa-mèu*** ***pake*** *kaha'i ètu ladha.goro*
CAUS-clean to.use cloth LOC neck
'(he) cleaned (them) using the cloth on (his) neck'
[YY_PearStory.014]

(166) *èdhi* ***lolo*** ***pake*** *kaba lolo èci do kaba lolo dua*
1PL to.roll to.use shell to.roll one or shell to.roll two
'We roll using one or two rolling shell' [SF_Tao_Hengu.039]

6.4.3.9. Synonymous serialization

Synonymous serialization indicates that two verbs in the series have very similar meanings. Combinations of this type are not frequent in Dhao, though they' are commonly used in natural speech. In (167), the verbs *soa* 'to jump' and *bèdhi* 'to leap' are combined as a SVC.

(167) *mia dhu soa r-are na*
where REL to.jump 3PL-to.take PART

nèngu ***soa*** ***bèdhi*** *ho la-si*
3SG to.jump to.leap so.that to.go-3PL
'Those who could jump, they jumped and left'
[JL_LamaNa'u_Meg'eBatu.096]

6.4.3.10. Purposive serialization

In Dhao, purposive serialization involves two verbs that are present consecutively within a single construction. The first verb designates the action that the subject is doing and the second verb denotes the purpose of said action. For example, in (168) below the first verb is *la-* 'to go' with the subject *ji'i*. The purpose the action of going denoted by *la-* 'to go' is to dig soil, which is indicated by the verb *kèi* 'to dig'. Likewise, with the verb *mai* 'to come' in (169), the purpose of coming is to bring the dowry. As is shown, both verbs that denote the events are simply juxtaposed.

(168) *ji'i* *la-'a* *kèi* *rai*
1PL.in to.go-1PL.in to.dig land
'We go to dig (and take) soil' [CY_Lari_Na'i.400]

(169) *ja'a* *mai* *k-èti* *kabua* *kadhèli*
1SG to.come 1SG-to.bring bridewealth rasher

èèna *ka*
DIST.SG PART
'I come to bring the dowry' [Ada_20140427.035]